512 462 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 233 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 241 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing and harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 294 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick spluttering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 462 592 606 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

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273 [733] at New Year and at weddings, funerals, and other festivals. The women do the distilling. Drinking too much is a weakness of Monguor men, and the women also like to drink a cup. As the distilling is crude, the liquor is by no means a healthy drink. In order to avoid drunken fights at the great spring and autumn festivals, liquor is drunk only at the end of the festivities.

276 Monguor men smoke all day long, using Chinese tobacco and the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl holding less than a thimbleful of tobacco. Often, instead of buying a wooden pipe stem from a peddler, the men make them for themselves, using the leg bone of a sheep. The pipe is hung from the belt, balanced by a small pouch which contains tinder and some small flints and has a steel 'keel." To strike a light, a piece of flint and a pinch of tinder are held between forefinger and thumb and struck against the steel. Women seldom smoke.

733 The practice of smoking opium has to some extent spread from the Chinese to the Monguors, and wherever there is an opium addict the whole family is sure to be ruined. Some T'u-ssu allow their subjects to raise opium, while others forbid it.

CLOTHING AND HEADDRESSES

291 For centuries the Monguors have been proud of their national costume, though it is true that in some Monguor communities Chinese clothing had become commoner than the Monguor costume by 1922. The adoption of Chinese clothing is probably due to the fact that the Monguor costume was despised by the Chinese wives of chiefs of clans and rich men. The enrollment of Chinese families in the Monguor clans has also had an influence. In 1949 the Communists, when they overran the Monguor country, forbade the wearing of the national costume—presumably as part of a policy of obliterating the separate customs and traditions of small minorities.

The traditional men's costume is much less elaborate than that of the women. The trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are cut in the Chinese style with a loose crotch and baggy seat. It is said that in former days the men did not wear trousers at all, and even today the old men living north of Weiyuanp'u do not wear trousers under their gowns unless they are going to town.[9] Monguor boots resemble Tibetan boots, having a "shoe" made like a moccasin and a cloth leg reaching to the knee. The legs of the trousers are stuffed into the boots. Sometimes the leg of the boot is embroidered. In winter some Monguors wear leather boots bought in the city.

[274]

[9] It is possible that the Monguor tradition on this subject is confused. Trousers have been part of the Mongol costume from ancient times. On the other hand, the Tibetans, especially the nomad Tibetans, do not wear trousers, and it is possible that the custom among some Monguors of not wearing trousers is due to Tibetan influence. On the subject see Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Verlag Herold, 1949, and Ekvall, *op. cit.*—O. L.

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173 291 562 Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince, "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

177 648 The significance of the Monguor national costume even in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

291 292 562 The costumes of the Monguor women are much more elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

291 562 A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

462 294 Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

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462 stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn.
294 Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese —swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

554 The boots and the sash are important items in the trousseau of a Monguor bride—they display her pro-
292 ficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, gracefully accepting compliments and congratulations. After
291 the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy foots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

292 For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn

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292 "one who is not dressed in a skirt could not confront the ancestors in the next world." According to tradition, Monguor women were allowed to wear this skirt by special favor of the emperor in recognition of the glorious days of the past when women had fought beside their husbands defending the frontiers of the empire.

The sash, as has already been mentioned, is one of the most important details of the wardrobe. When women gather together on holidays, the sash is the first article of dress that is inspected; after that come the boots. [294] The embroidery on the sash is the proof of a woman's skill with the needle. Custom demands that every girl, before her marriage, should herself make the embroidery on both ends of her sash, working under the supervision of her mother and with the skilled advice of other older women. This sash is worn for the first time at the girl's wedding, and after that on holidays. The ordinary woman has only one such sash to last her all her life. At the age of forty she exchanges it for one more simple in design.

Basically, the sash is a strip of green cotton cloth eight inches wide and twelve or fifteen feet in length. It is wound around the waist so that either both ends hang down in front, or one in front and the other at the back. Only the ends are embroidered, sometimes with a mosaic design, sometimes with flowers, or symbolic Chinese designs, or the Chinese characters for "longevity" or "happiness." Satin or silk handkerchiefs, edged with embroidery, are attached to the sash so that they hang down beside both of the hanging ends. A string of the old pierced Chinese copper cash is also attached to the sash, where it jingles like the bells on a horse as the woman walks. At home, when she is wearing her blue cotton gown, the woman wears a sash of the same material and color, without embroidered ends. If she is wearing her overgown of wool, the sash is of black wool with fringes of brown wool on both ends.

In addition to her "military" skirt, a woman also wears a waistcoat or sleeveless jacket of the kind worn by soldiers under the empire, covering the chest and back and reaching to the waist. This jacket may be made of dark blue cotton cloth, edged with black or brown velvet; or of red cotton, edged with black velvet and embroidered with gold thread. Wealthy women may wear jackets of satin or silk. The jacket worn at home is of simple blue cotton without edging. When a woman goes out to work, carrying earth or bringing back dung for fuel in a basket slung on her back, she wears a woolen jacket. Women over forty do not wear fancy jackets.

This jacket is not an ancient part of the costume. In older times, a kind of overcoat was worn, buttoned in front and reaching to the knees, with fringes at the bottom edge. These fringes were made of paper rolled into thick, hollow sticks, with tassels of silk thread at the ends. On the back of this coat was attached a small flag, also adorned with fringes. The silk handkerchiefs

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

M [888] N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-